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IDEALS TO LIVE BY

THE IDEAL OF HUMANISM

We are seeking to present Humanism as a religious philosophy which denies no particular faith, but which provides a path over which all people can travel toward a unity that rises above the barriers of the beliefs which divide them. In behalf of this common faith, we emphasize a constructive approach rather than opposition to traditional philosophies.

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- 1—Full endorsement of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations at the Plenary meeting December 10, 1948, and world-wide implementation and fulfillment of those rights at the earliest possible moment.
- 2—The use of science to serve society, creatively, constructively, and altruistically in the preservation of life, the production of abundance of goods and services, and the promotion of health and happiness.
- 3—The establishment and furthering of scientific integral education in all schools and colleges so as to emancipate all peoples from the thralldom of ignorance, superstition, prejudices and myths which impede individual development and forestall social progress.
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- 7—The inauguration of a world-wide economy of abundance through national economic planning and international economic cooperation so as to provide a shared plenty for all peoples.
- 8—The advancement of the good life on the basis of a morality determined by historical human experience and contemporary scientific research.
- 9—The development of a coordinated private, cooperative and public medical program which will provide preventive as well as curative medicine and include adequate public health education and personal health counseling.
- 10—The expansion of United Nations functions (1) to include international police power with sufficient armed forces to prevent war and (2) international economic controls capable of preventing world-wide monopolies and/or cartels.

(Successor to WELCOME NEWS)
HUMANIST WORLD DIGEST

A Quarterly of Liberal Religion

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THE NEW PROTESTANT

By Rev. Eugene William Kreves

Man's progress toward a natural humanitarian religion has been marked by intermittent periods of retrogression. When under the influences of reactionary pressures man lost faith in himself and in weakness turned to some source of ostensible authority and power divorced from human reason. Among the more enlightened members of human society there is an awareness of the direction religion must take if it is to have a salutary effect upon mankind. Unfortunately, there has not been a systematic presentation of a natural humanitarian religion. What the movement for liberal religion requires is a comprehensive statement of human knowledge about religion.

Ralph Waldo Emerson once said, "Poor reading makes for poor religion." The books on religion which are readily available to the public, on the whole constitute poor reading. They tend to spread a great amount of misinformation about the essential nature and purpose of religion. The reader of such materials, unless he is gifted with the ability to make incisive appraisals, is miseducated and provincial in perspective. This comment does not apply merely to Roman Catholicism. The name of that movement reveals its contradictory nature. Certainly it is more Roman than universal and its claim to catholicity may be dismissed with good conscience by any one who has even a passing acquaintance with that faith. The Christian Protestant movement may deserve slightly more favorable treatment, but it also is heavily laden with theological trivia and the unnecessary burden of myth, superstition and speculation. The comprehensive statement of modern religion must contain a certain negative element. For the seeker after truth it is necessary to be a theological iconoclast, destroying the gross misconceptions of reality. Beyond this, however, is the need for a forth-

right, positive statement of modern religion. It is this positive statement which should call forth the strongest efforts of the religious liberal. We need a systematic presentation of natural religion. We need to bring together the fragments, the contributions of many pioneers in this field and weave together those insights into one helpful pattern which will give guidance to this and future generations.

To those persons who object to natural religion, one must reply, "If the evidence for Christian theism is unsatisfactory, then Christian theism should not be preached." To those who feel that this is a great loss one may add, "There have been more crimes committed against humanity in the name of God and the Holy Spirit than under the aegis of any other name." The New Protestantism which must be preached today is a vigorous statement of dissent with a limiting religious heritage. The classical religious thinkers insisted that reason was founded on faith. Theology came first. It was not to be questioned. The task of the scholastic was to make known data and theory conform to the doctrine of God. This has been and remains the most popular approach to religion. When invited to a liberal church group a prominent civic worker said, "I am willing to be honest about my social and political views but not about my religion." The liberal approach is considered unsound or heretical or simply too non-conformist.

Another approach to religion is that of philosophy. Here one does not start with theism. One does not begin with a reason based on faith. One begins with the assumption that truth is not contradictory or pluralistic. One begins with the faith in reason itself rather than with reason committed beforehand, apriori, to a defense of the orthodox God-concept. Conceivably philosophy may lead one to a belief in God, to an aspect of reality which one might deify in some impersonal manner, but that belief, if it should eventuate, is based upon information and theories which have been discussed and analyzed. The philosophic approach to religion is the liberal approach. This is in sharp contrast to orthodoxy. The orthodox position was stated by Martin Luther:

"When it comes to the knowledge of how one may stand before God and attain to eternal life, that is truly not to be achieved by our work or power, nor to originate in our brain. In other things, those pertaining to this temporal life, you may glory in what you know, you may advance the

teachings of reason, you may invent ideas of your own; for example, how to make shoes or clothes, how to govern a household, how to manage a herd. In such things exercise your mind to the best of your ability . . . but in spiritual matters, human reasoning certainly is not in order; other intelligence, other skill and power are requisite here—something to be granted by God himself and revealed through his Word."

The difference between philosophy and theology, science and religion is further characterized by the words of John Calvin:

"In the present day, there are many men of monstrous dispositions, who . . . will not say that they are distinguished from the brutes by chance; but they ascribe it to nature, which they consider as the author of all things, and remove God out of sight . . . it is dangerous to confound the Deity with the inferior course of his works."

We may put the differences between these two approaches in yet another way. Religion generally has been concerned with Being, philosophy or science with becoming. Religion has directed man to have faith in certain things it held to be abiding verities, God, Heaven, Eternal Life. Philosophy has tended more to the study of natural processes in order to evaluate them. Since religion has been concerned with being rather than becoming, with an unchanging supernatural world rather than this changing universe, it has been conservative, slow to change. It has resisted attempts to modify it in relation to newly discovered facts. This is most clearly seen when science and religion are compared dispassionately. Science has been wrong as many times as religion, but it is no sacred cow to which we owe blind reverence. There is always the possibility of critical discussion rather than a revelation to be accepted on faith. When we contrast the attitude of reluctance to yield to new ideas of the religious man to the receptivity to change of the man of science we see the difference between an orthodox church and a liberal religious fellowship. Today we would regard with keen amusement any scientist who declared that he accepted the ideas of Galileo or Newton in full. Religious leaders have prided themselves upon preaching of "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, today and forever." They have confined their reading to a Bible, which, though portions of it are of lasting value, represents a world view and a psychology which is clearly erroneous. The result is that philosophy has captured the intellectual initiative

and theology has been left to defend the crumbling edifices of thought which it erected as fortresses against the invasion of new ideas. Today the hope of man for a modern reliable religion based on reason and consistent with human experience is not with theology but with philosophy. The aim of the philosophical church is to create the kind of society in which man is free to be curious about topics which hitherto have been declared out of bounds. Political and religious totalitarianism are rejected as enslaving authoritarian systems. We seek to bring forth individuals willing to exercise their minds. Civilization is of no value unless it creates such independent thinkers or safeguards them.

To the essential rationality of man we must ever return. That man is at times and under duress an irrational creature cannot be denied. That man has emotions, feelings which influence his thoughts cannot be denied. That religion has existed to satisfy man's emotional side is right and good. But to declare that religion must never be subjected to reason is to make religion the prostitute of every possible superstition and corruption. John Locke said: "Reason must be our last judge and guide in everything."

That religion began in superstition, in myth and legend is readily agreed to by all impartial students. This does not discredit religion. Science began as primitive magic and evolved into the present rigorous discipline which it is. It is a mistake to judge ideas by their pedigrees. Ideas and men are best judged by their merits. We sympathize with the Chicago employer who is purported to have received an application for a position from a proper Bostonian. In the application the proper Bostonian went on at great length to give his genealogical background. The irritated Mid-western businessman wrote in reply: "We are not interested in your pedigree, since we do not plan to use you for breeding purposes." In like manner, we liberals do not want to use religious orthodoxy for breeding purposes.

What religion has been in the past is of superficial significance. More important even than what it is, is what it can become. Prayer has been a verbal act that moved the arm that moved the world. Prayer broadly interpreted is an expression of the deepest yearnings and the highest aspirations of the human spirit. Religion has been an attempt to win the favor of the gods or of a supreme God. The religion of naturalistic humanism teaches us that it is our responsibility to create the kind of

social world we require. Religion can become the great new dynamic which will give men a sense of togetherness, which will help man realize his religious nature, which will make democracy a great and pure human adventure.

Before man can achieve his potentials, he must have a religion which will minister to him in his effort. It must be a religion which will praise him rather than condemn him for his ideals. It must be a religion which sees him as the highest form of evolution, not as a depraved remiss child of a disappointed and angry Deity. It must be a religion which admits the rightful role of reason in guiding man. It must be a religion which calls for a faith rooted in reason rather than rooted in faith; a religion not of divine revelation but of human reflection. A seed of this philosophical humanism is found in the wisdom of John Locke:

“For, to this crying up of faith in opposition to reason, we may, I think, in good measure ascribe those absurdities that fill almost all the religions which possess and divide mankind. For men—having been principled with an opinion, that they must not consult reason in the things of religion, however apparently contradictory to common sense, and the very principles of all their knowledge—have let loose their fancies and natural superstition; and have been by them led into so strange opinions and extravagant practices in religion, that a considerate man cannot but stand amazed at their follies . . . Reason must be our last judge and guide in everything.”

This is the New Protestantism which moves past the Reformation, on past the high mark of modernism, on past the liberalism of the former generation, bearing man to a new understanding, a position from whence he may gain new perspective and launch forth with greater assurance to create his own destiny.

The New America and the New World which science has given us requires a humanity of greater tolerance and insight and a religion of greater truth. Let us further then, this New Protestantism, this Religion of Humanism above and beyond all existing religions that we may achieve a brilliant destiny for the children of men.

* * *

I believe each individual is naturally entitled to do as he pleases with himself and the fruit of his labor, so far as it in no wise interferes with any other man's rights.—Abraham Lincoln.

MR. DON WHITEHEAD'S STORY OF THE FBI

A Criticism by G. W. Elderkin, professor emeritus, Princeton University

Mr. Whitehead's story, which has been concluded recently in condensed form in the Saratoga Herald-Tribune, presents a lively picture of a very important agency of our government. He has, however, omitted some serious matters which come within the scope of the story. The communists are not the only subversives who threaten our traditional freedoms.

On May 17, 1941, there was published in the magazine America a very revealing and alarming article by one J. J. O'Connor of St. John's University in Brooklyn. He wrote: "Today Roman Catholics are being asked to shed their blood for that particular kind of secular civilization . . . now called democracy . . . In reality is it worth defending? All of the Yanks in America will not save it from disintegration . . . The solution of American democracy depends upon two things, staying out of war and starting the Christian revolution **now** (boldface added) . . . Leadership will come only from hierarchy." It is especially imperative that we realize why O'Connor made his revolutionary proposal when he did. Germany had overwhelmed Belgium and France, and stood poised for attack on England, the only remaining bulwark in Europe of human freedom. The strategists of the Roman Church were sure that Hitler, with whom their Vatican had made a concordat, would win the war and that then the true church would have a free hand to wipe out the evil consequences of the Reformation, even in the United States. O'Connor shared that view, and this explains the time he proposed for the Catholic uprising under the leadership of its hierarchy.

In the same magazine (July 1940) there had appeared another article with this telltale sentence: "It is no part of our duty to prepare armaments for England's aid." The purpose of this insidious statement, which was in effect repeated by O'Connor, was to deprive England of our vital help. Both writers wished to facilitate the German conquest of England and thus render our country more vulnerable to attack by Hitler. So soon as this was successful, O'Connor's proposed overthrow of our democracy would follow.

Our constitution, invoked against the communists, prescribes penalties for those who seek to overthrow our government by violence. Mr. Whitehead states that 91 persons were convicted of spying against the United States during World War II, and

adds "the shame of it was that 64 of them were American citizens." He says nothing about O'Connor who was not a spy but a traitor. O'Connor's protagonists will affirm that he proposed no violent action. Did O'Connor believe for one moment that if his hierarchy had summoned its faithful to end our democratic way of life that Americans would have said "Yes, Father?" Certainly not. If the hierarchy and O'Connor were sure that Americans would consent to be deprived of their democratic form of government, why did he not make his announcement while the world was at peace? O'Connor and the fathers of his church, knowing that universal persuasion was impossible, needed and waited for a favorable opportunity for forced and therefore violent conversion of the heretics. Hitler's successes offered that opportunity.

There is no question whatever about this. Actions speak louder than words, as events in Yugoslavia proved beyond question. Hitler gave the Vatican a free hand in that country to convert forcibly the Orthodox Slavs. Pope Pius XII and his underling Archbishop Stepinac rose to the occasion. The terrible story, which reeks to heaven and should be known to every American, is told in the official report of the Yugoslav government entitled "Yugoslavia, The Church and the State." (Copies may be had free of charge on application to the Yugoslav Information Service, 816 Fifth Ave., New York City). Stepinac presided over the forcible conversion. The time had come to satiate the century-old papal hatred of the Orthodox Serbs. A single paragraph from this report (p. 33) is here quoted: "One summer day in 1941 (the year that O'Connor wanted his hierarchy to put an end to our democracy) some 900 people of Glina—men, women and children—were herded into their local Serb Orthodox Church. They were brought there to be 'brought back into the true faith'. When the ceremony of 'saving their souls' was over (Catholic) Ustashe with daggers were sent in. One or two escaped by crawling from under the piles of corpses. The Church itself was set on fire." It is not reported that Christ and His Mother urged on the assassins. And now in Washington Roman Catholic Congressmen are opposing a visit of Tito to Eisenhower! It was these and other Congressmen who voted viva voce to give the Pope nearly a million dollars to restore his summer home which had been hit by a chance American missile during the war. Why did they not give at least a moderate sum for the rebuilding the church of carnage at Glina which the Pope could

have spared? An anticipatory justification of the slaughter of thousands of Orthodox Serbs appeared in The Roman Catholic Tablet, significantly in its issue of November 5, 1938: "Heresy is an awful crime against God, and those who start a heresy are more guilty than they who are traitors to the civil government. If the state has a right to punish treason with death, the principle is the same that concedes to the spiritual authority (i.e. Roman Catholic) the power of life and death over the arch-traitor to truth and divine revelation." Do not Hoover and all lovers of religious freedom realize that the fate of the heretics in Yugoslavia would have been the fate of heretics in this country too if O'Connor's proposal had been achieved under the aegis of Hitler? The end of democracy in our country could have been accomplished only by violence. Why did not Hoover seize O'Connor just as he seized the Japanese agents in this country after the attack upon Pearl Harbor? Where was the FBI? In retreat?

The sad truth is that the Catholic lobby had cultivated Hoover and he reciprocated. The director of the FBI has been guilty, beyond a doubt, of religious favoritism which violates the American demand for non-sectarianism in public office. The Jesuit Lloyd has been the dominant religious figure in the FBI. He has delivered the invocation and the benediction at over forty commencements and, to cap the climax, was publicly addressed by Hoover as "our chaplain of the FBI." Indicative of Jesuitic penetration into Hoover's organization is the fact that, in one year, 105 members of it made retreats under Lloyd's guidance. It has not been stated whether these members were in retreat during their vacation or whether these devotions were at the taxpayers' expense. Both Archbishop O'Boyle and Bishop Sheen in fairly close succession were commencement speakers, presumably on Hoover's invitation. The Archbishop solemnly warned the graduates against "subtle enemies hiding in darkness," when he himself is one of them! Why has not Hoover invited that magnificent American, Methodist Bishop Oxnam, who could have set forth the blessings of religious freedom which the Catholic Bishops would utterly destroy? It is no coincidence that traitor O'Connor's St. John's University has a "Career Clinic" in which opportunities for success in the FBI are discussed.

Catholic clerical support of Hoover has greatly enhanced his prestige on the floor of Congress, too many of whose members fear the thunderbolts of the Jupiter of the Vatican. It has been charged that Hoover has long hoped to bring under his direction

the Secret Service of the Treasury Department (cf. Mr. McWilliams, *The Nation*, Feb. 6, 1952). Catholic support in Congress would help a great deal. Any summary of Catholic efforts to win over Mr. Hoover must include the five honorary degrees which he has received from Catholic Universities. Very significant is his first award which was conferred by the Jesuit University of Georgetown in 1939, the year of the outbreak of World War II. The Jesuits have a long history of political meddling. In 1942 Hoover was honored by Notre Dame whose professor Francis described the Jesuits as "comrades-at-arms, a corps of officers destined to lead the people's army of the militant church"! Here we have an echo of O'Connor's Catholic army under the command of the hierarchy. One recalls Leo XIII's "sword of the Church." Hoover's third honor came from St. John's University in Brooklyn in 1942 where, a year before, the traitor O'Connor hatched his subversive proposal. This was hardly the best American company for Mr. Hoover to be in! The fourth and fifth degrees came from Seton Hall and Holy Cross (Jesuit) in 1944. Apparently the Catholic universities had a monopoly of such blandishments.

Now follows the big question: Why was Catholic strategy so intent upon winning over Mr. Hoover and so anxious to fill the ranks of the FBI with its adherents? The answer may be inferred from a remark by the late Justice Jackson who presided over the trials of Nazi war criminals: "I can say with great conviction that it (our country) cannot become totalitarian without a central national police." Control of such police would be more effective if the immediate source of its authority were also in the hands of the clerical conspirators. When Hoover became head of the FBI he stated he would take orders only from the Attorney General. Hence the pressure put upon our presidents to name Catholics to that vitally important post. The appointment of McGrath was so bad that Truman had to dismiss him. This was done over the protest of Cardinal Spellman who telephoned Truman from Japan. It is a logical supposition that his protest implies his previous influence to get the objectionable attorney appointed. It was McGrath who publicly declared that there should be no wall of separation between Church ((i.e. Catholic) and State. A prominent lawyer called upon McGrath to apologize to the American people for this un-American remark. McGrath's successor was also severely criticized. He was the last of six Catholic Attorney Generals. Even the present Attorney General

yielded to Catholic pressure when his office notified the postal authorities that Avro Manhattan's highly informative book *The Vatican in World Politics* was "non-mailable in the United States." Had McGrath declared that there should be no wall between Moscow and Washington, Hoover would have taken proper action instantler but an obvious clerical plot to remove the wall between the Vatican and Washington did not call for any action at all. The chaplain of the FBI approved of the plot.

Effective control of the FBI and of the office of the Attorney General was not enough. There must be also control of the Foreign Service. So a School of Foreign Service was organized at Georgetown University, a Jesuit institution whose Father Walsh gave McCarthy the suggestion that he capitalize on the danger to this country of communism. Everyone knows the disgraceful persecution that resulted. One wholesome result, apparently, from this abuse of power and the impending danger that foreign officers of the United States will be increasingly of one religious affiliation, is the very welcome announcement that the Methodist Church will establish in Washington a school for the Foreign Service. A student a few years ago at the Georgetown School estimated that about 80 per cent of its students were of the Catholic faith. The American public has the right to know just what this percentage is because some of these graduates will succumb to clerical influence, the more so as the Catholic lobby is not above reward for its faithful. Consider the case of Mr. R. D. Murphy who, as Deputy Under Secretary of State, is now at the top of the Foreign Service. The intimates of this high officer in Germany "turned out to be former Nazi high officials or helpers of the underground." Mr. Murphy, a graduate of Georgetown's School of Foreign Service, was twice attacked in the French Press for intervening in French justice where he had no proper business whatsoever. He secured the release of two Frenchmen from prison who had both worked for the Vichy regime, as had Laval who paid for his treason with his life. Murphy's meddling can be explained only in the light of the great joy of the Vatican at the establishment of the Catholic regime at Vichy. There are two obvious reasons why Murphy in this affair turned his ear toward the Eternal City: (1) devotion to his church and (2) the realization that with the help of the Catholic lobby he could hope for larger opportunities in governmental office. General Clark's request for Murphy as his special advisor in the Far East must have been quite acceptable to Cardinal Spellman whose visits to Japan

suggest that he is more interested in the revival of Japan's former alliance with Germany and another attempt at world conquest by the latter, than in the distribution of protective religious emblems. The Vatican gave Germany the first tip of the impending American descent upon Italy. Did the FBI seek to discover the informer?

Linked with the Roman program for control of the FBI, of the Department of Justice and the School of Foreign Service, is control of the Immigration Bureau. The McCarran-Walters Act, which forbids consular officers to ask what the religion is of immigrants to this country, was motivated not by a desire to be impartial but to conceal from the public a decided preference for those of the true faith. With consulates increasingly manned by Catholics, their mentors could easily realize such preference. The newspapers used to publish the number of immigrants of this or that faith, and there was no harm done thereby. An indication of clerical influence in the Immigration Service is the case of one Artukovic, the wholesale murderer of the Orthodox Serbs, who entered this country on a faked Irish passport and is still here in spite of official Yugoslav efforts to extradite him. Curiously enough Avro Manhattan, who exposed the illegal entry, was denied a visa to visit our country. Should not the FBI ask the Catholic lobby in Washington for an explanation of this anomaly?

Mr. Whitehead's story in short does not reveal a fundamental deficiency of the FBI. He does not ask the urgent question: Why does our national detective agency, which is bound to uphold our traditional freedoms, play right into the hands of a church which will stop at nothing to destroy our religious rights? How can the FBI safeguard civil rights which it is credited with doing without, at the same time, safeguarding religious rights? A very disturbing criticism is Mr. Lowenthal's statement that "the FBI has every facility and every potentiality for becoming a weapon of political oppression" (Shades of Chief Justice Jackson!). Obviously this potentiality is enhanced if it has the collaboration of such attorney generals as Truman appointed, and a foreign service which can be attentive to the Vatican's wishes. More disturbing than Mr. Lowenthal's startling statement is the fact that the FBI sought to prevent the publication of his book, and failing that, to impede its sales (The Nation, February 16, 1952). This procedure was patterned on that of the Catholic church which sought to impede the sales of Blanshard's book. The same odor of sanctity emanates from the invitation extended to

Mr. Lowenthal to come to Washington, after being smeared as a communist, where his friendships were subject to question. The attack upon Lowenthal illustrates the Catholic clerical principle, or rather the lack of it: Don't answer embarrassing criticisms; seek instead to distract attention from them by vilifying the critic.

* * *

TREASON IN SOUTH AFRICA?

By George M. Houser

"I am a completely prejudiced person. Although I am a South African citizen and do very deeply love South Africa, I do not love the government of South Africa, nor its policies. . . . In the eyes of the government that constitutes treason. And so you have before you a traitor to his country. I'm sorry but there it is."

Thus Father Trevor Huddleston began an address in New York city last spring. If he had been in South Africa last December 5, he would undoubtedly have been among the 140 persons arrested on the charge of treason. For on that day began the long-expected arrest of leaders of some forty-eight organizations composed of people who "do not love the government of South Africa." The number of arrests has now been brought up to 156, and there will probably be more.

This action of the Afrikaner Nationalist government of South Africa is but the latest of many moves to impose a pattern of strict **apartheid**, racial segregation. It will be one of the most celebrated cases in South African history. Can an opponent of **apartheid** engage in organizational activities without fear of arrest? Is active opposition to **apartheid** not only treasonable but a sign of communist affiliation as well? These are two basic questions likely to be decided by the trial.

I

For well over a year the government had been laying the groundwork for the December 5 arrests. In September and October 1955, almost 1,000 homes and offices were raided by the police. The head of the Special Branch (political police) reported that the object of the raids was to discover evidence of treason, sedition, and offenses under the Suppression of Communism act. For months nothing was heard. Then, in April, Minister of Justice C. R. Swart replied to a question in parliament that before the end of the year there would probably be 200 arrests on the charge of treason.

The government struck with dramatic suddenness. The time

of the arrests was a well kept secret. Their manner revealed the most careful planning. The Rev. D. C. Thompson, a 51-year-old Methodist clergyman in Springs in the Transvaal, was roused from sleep at 4 a.m. by police already in his bedroom. Some hundreds of miles away, on the Congregational Mission Reserve of Groutville in Natal province, the home of Albert J. Luthuli himself—president of the African National Congress, deposed Zulu chief, former teacher at a missionary school, active Congregational layman—was hustled away without a change of clothes or a toothbrush.

In all parts of the union arrests were made in similar fashion. The "treason suspects" from other than the Johannesburg area were taken to waiting planes, and within a few hours were in an old Johannesburg jail called the Fort along with those for whom the trip was only a short automobile ride.

Bail was not set for fifteen days. The nonwhites were in two cells, each with an open water closet and a running tap. They were so crowded that at night, lying on the concrete floor, their bodies touched. Each prisoner had three blankets and a mat. The Europeans had better conditions—three to six to a cell, beds and chairs. For the non-Europeans, particularly the older ones, sitting and lying on the concrete floor was a real hardship, and release on bail on December 21 was most welcome. The amount was not high, certainly by American standards—\$140 for Africans, \$280 for Indians, and \$700 for Europeans.

Of the 156 now facing charges, 103 are African, 22 are Indian, 8 are Colored (racially mixed) and 23 are European. Among them are clergymen, lawyers, physicians, professors, and one member of parliament. Probably the defendant best known in the United States is Z. K. Matthews, who received his master's degree in sociology from Yale University. An Anglican layman, he held the Henry Luce visiting professorship of world Christianity at Union Theological Seminary, New York, during the 1952-53 academic year, and lectured widely around this country. Currently he is head of the University College of Fort Hare, an African university. Until a year ago he was the president of the Cape branch of the African National Congress. He has been looked upon by Europeans and Africans alike as a moderate, and his arrest was a genuine shock.

In addition to Mr. Thompson, a European, two other clergymen, both African, were arrested. One was the Rev. J. A. Calata, Anglican priest in the diocese of Grahamstown, at one time sec-

retary of the Provincial (Cape) board of missions. The other, the Rev. W. S. Gake, also has a parish in the Grahamstown diocese. For several years he has been chaplain of the African National Congress.

The member of parliament, L. B. Warden, is the European representative of Africans in Cape province (the only province where Africans have any vote.) The more prominent organizations against which the government is taking action are the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats, the South African Women's Federation, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

II

This case will go on for many months. The government has not yet pinpointed its indictment, which will be given following a "preliminary hearing." This preparatory examination began on December 19 and is still in process as this is written. The circumstances of the hearing have been very dramatic. No regular courtroom was large enough, so an old armory-like building called the Drill Hall has been taken over. At first the prisoners were kept, while in the makeshift court, in a zoo-like enclosure of meshed wire. The defense attorneys objected to the indignity of this arrangement, but the prisoners jokingly exhibited signs reading, "Don't feed the Monkeys." Thousands of people gathered outside with signs saying, "We Stand Behind Our Leaders." Hymns and Congress songs have been sung lustily, and the Congress sign (thumbs up) has been given frequently. On the first day of the hearing the noise from outside was so great that nothing could be heard inside. Court was adjourned until a special amplifying system could be installed.

From what reports have been released so far it is obvious that the government will make much of a conference held in July 1955 and called the Congress of the People, where some 3,000 people adopted what was called the Freedom Charter. Virtually all those now under arrest attended this gathering and took a leading part in organizing it. It is probable that Z. K. Matthews' arrest can be attributed to the fact that he is credited with having masterminded the Freedom Charter. The prosecutor for the government, J. V. van Niekerk, in outlining important elements in his case referred to a speech Matthews made not long after his return from the United States, at a meeting of the African National Congress in Cape province in August

1953. He was quoted as having said: "I wonder if the time has not come for convening a national congress to draw up a democratic constitution for the future." On another occasion, the prosecutor pointed out, the secretary-general of the A.N.C. spoke of plans to lead "the people" into mass activity against the government and to give them "a central objective to work for." The case of the government is therefore likely to be that the accused are working for the establishment of a new kind of government and that this is revolutionary and hence treasonable.

The Suppression of Communism act will play a very important role in the trials. This act, passed in 1950 while Dr. Malan was the prime minister, is a lengthy law interpreting very broadly exactly what a Communist is. Undoubtedly a small number of genuine Marxist Communists are hard at work in South Africa. But most of those convicted under the act have been looked upon only as statutory communists. In a speech given on December 19 in Natal, the minister of justice conceded that although communism in its active form had been completely destroyed in South Africa, it was now "in a new form which worked behind the scenes and which came in a new cloak—that all people in the country were equal."

By this definition, the Freedom Charter could be regarded as communistic. It begins with these forthright words:

We, the people of South Africa declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty, and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of color, race, sex, or belief;

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white together—equals, countrymen, and brothers—adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

The treason arrests are only the latest of many racist moves. On the nation's statute books are the Group Areas act, which zones the whole country racially; the Population Registration act, under which all the inhabitants must register by race; the Bantu Education act, which aims to prepare the Africans for the role of servant or unskilled worker in the white world; the Pass laws, which control the movements of Africans.

III

What causes the Union of South Africa to stand almost alone among the nations of the world in defiance of accepted precepts of equalitarian human relations? The South African whites are not a special brand of people. They have simply developed under special conditions. They number about 3 million in a total population of about 13 million, and most of the other 10 million are African. They suffer from a fear psychosis—that they will be engulfed by the Africans, that their civilization will be destroyed and their religion desecrated. In trying to save themselves through one act of racial oppression after another, they only ensure that the coming struggle will be a most bitter one.

As this "treason" case unfolds, the government may be disappointed to find the opposition being strengthened rather than weakened. A number of Anglican churchmen—such as Archbishop G. Clayton and Dean T. J. Savage of Capetown, Bishop Ambrose Reeves of Johannesburg, Arthur W. Blaxall, secretary of the Christian Council of South Africa—have joined with members of other denominations—such as J. B. Webb, minister of the downtown Johannesburg Methodist Church—and many lay people, including Alan Paton, to set up a defense fund. Large mass meetings of nonwhites are being held. And the leadership of the various movements that are under fire has been drawn closer together. During the fifteen days the nonwhites were in jail together they organized a "high command" consisting of Chief Luthuli, Professor Matthews, and G. M. Naicker, president of the Indian Congress. Each cell had a chairman to supervise cleanup, care and distribution of food, entertainment and education. Lectures were given and news reports were read aloud.

A rededication ceremony was conducted in the Fort. Chief Luthuli's brief speech closed with the challenge: "If there are any present who are sorry to be in the Fort and regret that their membership in (the African National) Congress has brought them to this pass, let them drop out of the circle. Only those of us

determined to continue the struggle may sing 'Mayibuye' (the freedom song, 'May Africa Arise')." Everyone sang. Chaplain Gawe led in prayer. The ceremony ended with the singing of the African national anthem, "Nkosi Sikelela Afrika"—"God Bless Africa."

In this country James A. Pike, dean of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York city, is heading the defense fund effort initiated by the American Committee on Africa, 4 West 40th St., New York 18, where inquiries may be addressed. Among the sponsors of the fund are Eleanor Roosevelt, Karl Menninger, Van Wyck Brooks, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Lewis Mumford, Benjamin E. Mays, Norman Cousins and Archibald MacLeish.

South African Defense Fund,
4 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.

* * *

THE FIGHT FOR EQUALITY AND BROTHERHOOD

By Norman Thomas

From a speech by the six-time Socialist candidate for President given before the Greater Miami Chapter of the ACLU in Miami, Florida, on December 12, 1956. Mr. Thomas has been a member of the Union's Board of Directors since he helped found the organization in 1920.

It needs no labored argument to support the obvious truth that there can be no true democracy, no real liberty, no honest equality, in a country in which there are large numbers of second-class citizens segregated by law and custom, not by the quality of their acts, but solely by the accidental fact of their color. In this connection equality means that men must be judged and treated by what they are and what they do, rather than by the race to which they belong.

Not Regional Problem

This sort of equality is a national, not a regional problem. In no sense, should it be a matter of one region against another. There are regions in which, for understandable reasons, the fight against racial prejudice goes more slowly than elsewhere. There is no region where complete victory of equality and brotherhood has been won. Nevertheless, nothing is surer than the inevitable defeat, not alone in America, but throughout the world, of the doctrine and practice of white supremacy. If twenty years ago, I could have been assured that I could read as an encouraging "Progress Memorandum" on the subject of Integration North

and South as David Loth and Harold Fleming have drawn up in their widely circulated study (reviewed in December Civil Liberties), I should have rejoiced.

The South Has the Real Heroes

It is the South, not the North, which furnishes the real heroes for justice and brotherhood and obedience to law. High on the honor roll would come men like the clergyman, Martin Luther King, who has held the Negroes of Montgomery, Ala., so close to Gandhian principles and practices in their struggle for justice.

Along side of him we should have to put a white clergyman, the Rev. Paul W. Turner of Clinton, Tenn., who, after he had been beaten by a gang of men for escorting six Negro children to high school, reaffirmed from his pulpit his faith in law, order and brotherhood. He does not stand alone in Clinton. The town is fortunate in a principal like D. J. Brittain, Jr. While dominant sentiment in the region is still in favor of segregation in the schools, the extreme segregationists were overwhelmingly defeated in a municipal election. Mr. Brittain has testified that, despite constant abuse and threats which he has received by telephone and by mail, the letters run about three to one in his favor. In this and in the firm stand of the federal courts of the region there is hope.

Nevertheless, the inevitable victory of true equality seems distant. It will not be won without effort and brave devotion to the right. All of us are involved—as citizens, churchmen, members of labor unions and other economic organizations. I have been glad to single out clergymen for praise because, until recently, it was true that about the most thoroughly Jim Crow organizations in this country were the churches, especially the Protestant churches.

We are continually reminded that law of itself cannot remove prejudice or create friendship. This is true and worth saying, IF it is followed by a plea to churches, schools, and individuals to play their part in educating for brotherhood. But if brotherhood cannot be legislated and enforced by law, law can do much to create and preserve the conditions in which brotherhood can be practiced. Emancipation did not solve the race problem in America, but without the legal abolition of slavery all talk of brotherhood would have been worse than sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.

ACLU's Role Legal, Educational

The particular business of the ACUL as an organization is with the legal side of things. It is concerned to do the many things that citizens' organizations can do to help in the enforcement of law and to bring available legal aid to victims of injustice. It is concerned to do what a civilian organization can do in order to improve our law. It is or should be concerned with the better education of the American public in the meaning of our Bill of Rights and in the true function of our courts to give it validity.

These activities become the more important since, temporarily at least, organizations like the NAACP are so badly handicapped in state after state by a kind of quasi-legal persecution so that they cannot function efficiently to protect individuals subject to discrimination under local laws and customs. It is this combination that has reduced the enrollment of Negroes in the state of Mississippi from 22,000 out of 990,000 to some 8,000.

The load upon the ACLU, nationally and regionally, to provide legal defense is sure to be increased. Moreover, our organization is under great obligation to use every proper means to obtain that minimum of civil rights legislation necessary for the implementation of Supreme Court decisions. This means the strengthening of the Department of Justice and the passage of laws which will enable it to come to the help of all American citizens everywhere who are denied their constitutional right to vote. There will be no more important domestic issue in the next Congress than the question of proper civil rights legislation.

In fulfilling these functions, our ACLU will find itself obligated to do a better job than in the past in popular education. We shall have to show how sound Americanism and world leadership for freedom cannot tolerate a doctrine of states rights which makes second-class citizens out of any Americans. We shall have to show how extraordinarily fortunate we Americans have been that we have lived under a constitution which permits the proper reinterpretation of doctrines of freedom and equality in terms of the times in which we live.

No nation has lived so long as we under a document framed by men of the Eighteenth Century. We have endured because our founding fathers gave us a reasonable flexible constitution, and because our highest courts, despite some errors, have understood that the meaning of freedom and equality must be given in terms of the facts of human relations. The Supreme Court

jeopardized peace, happiness and prosperity of the American nation, not by its decisions regarding the true meaning of equality of rights in the 1950's, but in the old days 100 years ago when by narrow interpretation in the infamous Dred Scott decision it made war virtually inevitable for the solution of the problem of slavery.

States Righters Rationalizing

The men who advance today narrowed doctrines concerning the power of Congress and federal courts in the field of civil liberties, the men who prate noisily of states rights, are merely rationalizing their prejudices and their will to perpetuate injustice to large classes of American citizens. If the situation were reversed, and by some miracle Mississippi courts and the Mississippi legislature stood firmly against legal segregation, while the federal government allowed it, the conversion of Mississippi advocates of states rights to ardent federalism would be instantaneous.

—American Civil Liberties Union

* * *

THE CITY OF TOMORROW

"A new way of thought is issential if humanity is to survive and move towards higher plans."—Albert Einstein.

The towns we live in are becoming less and less inhabitable. Circulation is difficult, parking impracticble, noise deafening, the atmosphere poisonous, slums more unhealthy and on the increase, and into these are crowded a surplus of children and the overflow from the country.

Moreover, these towns spread out of all proportion to satisfy the mania for garden cities, so that many of their inhabitants find themselves condemned to spend a great part of their life in some form of transport which is at the same time unpractical, crowded and extenuating.

Leisure or Unemployment

This calamity was denounced more than twenty years ago by Le Corbusier, who showed that urban distances devoured the leisure which had a tendency to increase constantly through a more and more productive and automatic machinery, so that this leisure so dearly bought is wasted, instead of being used for physical and intellectual culture, as should be desired. The

growth of this leisure will be hastened under the impetus of progress, especially by the development of electronics and automatism, which are responsible for factories without workmen and stores without salesmen whose numbers and importance are constantly growing. If this leisure were not generously shared out, it would be transformed into unemployment and would provoke an unprecedented crisis, for unemployment is merely a glut of badly distributed leisure.

We must not forget that our grandfathers worked from 80 to 100 hours a week. This figure has been halved, with increased well-being. Tomorrow thirty hours will be sufficient, if not twenty. And if the cold war should come to an end—and one day this must happen—it would be possible to demobilize the army and the wage earners occupied in the manufacture of arms. This disponibility of this batch of workers would then make ten hours sufficient, and could give a greater well-being to all than at the present time.

The Time Has Come for Women

This being done, it is easy to predict that housewives who, in many cases, slave in their homes from ten to twelve hours a day, will claim their share of this leisure. When their brothers, their husband and their sons are able to go to the playing fields daily, and to improve their minds in appropriate clubs, they will refuse to roast themselves to a cinder in front of their stoves, and wear themselves out with household tasks which each day are to be begun over again.

It would then be necessary, under the threat of a housewives' strike, to admit that the towns we live in are as totally unfit for the liberation of women as for a massive and rational use of leisure. Thus the necessity of building others.

A Rational Urbanism

It will then be time to put into practice the urbanistic principles of Le Corbusier which are, in brief:

- 1) The modern town should be built in the country among trees and green fields, where good hygiene and the means to practice sport are possible.

- 2) It should be built vertically to put an end to long distances. For instance, it is quite clear than a twenty floor building having numerous and rapid lifts will replace to great advantage buses, taxis or tubes, for the vertical distances will be reduced to about seventy metres instead of several miles in the horizontal sense,

made at the expense of long standing waits and much hustling. Several hours a day could thus be gained.

Restaurants, cleaning services, laundries, mending and other services would free women from their household tasks, while crèches, kindergartens and schools would look after their children during the day. By these means the housewife could not only join her husband in his sporting activities during the afternoon and in cultural clubs in the evening, but could also take part in industrial production, in administration, in upkeep, education or social services.

In Sweden this is more and more the trend. Bungalows, although extremely comfortable, are being progressively abandoned in favour of flats in buildings where all the services of which we have spoken are organized. In this way the Swedish woman is able to practice a profession in the same conditions as her husband.

Leisure Takes Preference

This system adopted in the city of which we dream, and in in future women becoming part of the active population, the working timetable would again decrease through this feminine labour, in such that little by little work, which in our old-fashioned civilization has occupied the first place, will make way for leisure to be of greatest importance. Strange as this may seem at the present time, trades unions would then become useless and be blotted out by committees for the organization of leisure, for the day would consist of ten hours of leisure, two of work and twelve for rest, meals, etc.

Whether we want it or not, such a changeover is for tomorrow, on condition of course that the abominable risk of war should be put aside and that the present co-existence should advance to universal reconciliation. It is quite evident that this reconciliation cannot come about of itself, without a serious motive to incite it.

In Search of a Common Denominator

Here the building of a model city where there would reign well-being, total security and the necessary leisure for physical, intellectual and artistic improvement could serve as a common denominator. For a happy population enjoying the above advantages would show the world that it is useless to pursue the acquisition of a Russian happiness, an American, a Portuguese or a

Norwegian happiness, but that it is high time to organize an entirely human happiness.

In consequence, what counts most is not for each nation to possess supreme power, which is subject to revision, but to search for "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" as Bentham said, and in the quickest possible time. For this reason, a demonstration of an evident happiness, offered in a city specially built to this effect, would certainly raise a hope among all populations to share these joys in the near future.

We must convene that, to the contrary, the renewed promises of all political parties of a world where there will be more justice and well-being, has ceased to interest the masses, through lack of concrete demonstration. It therefore seems about time to abandon political theories that are just good enough to sustain discord and are already out of date, in favour of experimental proof. That is the means used in all exact sciences, and one does not see why it should be different in the case of social science which, in definitive, should dominate and enslave all others in view of the common good.

Should the view of the first model city be found attractive by the majority, a universal desire would become manifest, that of covering the globe with these same cities, or others still more beautiful and better organized. Over and above its power of reconciliation, such a program would have the merit of giving work to all for at least half a century. Thus the manufacture of arms could be abandoned in favour of urban construction without incurring the risk of entire continents being overrun by unemployment, thus ruining economy and spreading want and distress.

The competition which is so dangerous nowadays on a military plane would then be turned over to urbanism and applied sociology, for the greater good of the peoples, united in future in the pursuit of the same ideal.

The Model City

Yet to give at least an approximative idea of the city in view, written in verbal descriptions could not suffice. It was necessary to present a palpable plan in order that each one could form his own idea of what his condition would be if such a plan were put into operation. For this reason a model has been built giving evidence of the new rules of life, and the happiness which can result from them.

What one sees first in this model is the absence of any street. Looking south there are gardens, playing fields, a stadium to hold 20,000, a river, a boating and several swimming pools, an 18-hole golf course, a landing ground for touring planes and gliders. Farther away the forest, a park for silence, and the flower nurseries. To the north the workshops equipped for a determinated production with all modern appliances.

A population of 50,000 inhabitants having been planned, each family would be given rooms in a building of twenty stories, of a height of 220 feet, a width of 80 feet and a length of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The round tower which can be seen every 600 feet contains restaurants for 500 persons, each family taking its meals in the one nearest its rooms, on the same floor. The rectangular towers in between hold the administrative offices, the shops, the upkeep workshops, the university halls, and above all numerous rooms for all kinds of cultural clubs where each one can satisfy his aspirations and cultivate his gifts in view of his greatest contentment.

In the center of the residential building is the Cultural Palace containing one above the other entertainment halls capable of seating 5,000, 3,000, 2,000, 1,000 and 200 people, to be used for the theatre, concerts, films, choirs, lectures, etc., and where the General Meetings would be held in which important decisions are taken by the majority of the population, the Managing Director and Board giving orders for execution.

Along the whole of the upper terrace are classrooms, swimming pools, gardens and playgrounds for the children. The flags joining the restaurant towers to those of the lifts (to the north) serve as a covered playground.

A road goes past residential building, to the north; it is more or less reserved for visitors who will be invited to drive slowly. It is the only place where people on foot can meet vehicles, and again there are footbridges which cross this road. Distances being short to go to one's work, one's club, the theater, and the timetable having ceased to be a torment, all can be done on foot. Yet under the building, although on ground level, electric buses will circulate for those who need to go several miles. This however will be the exception. The first to arrive will take the wheel and abandon the vehicle at the terminus.

As for trains and supply trucks, they will arrive in the basement to be unloaded and to take away refuse. There also will be the passenger station. By contrast roads and railway lines

go past the workshops to supply their needs in raw material and take away the manufactured products. And a squadron of cars and motor coaches will be at the disposal of travellers for necessary journeys, weddings and touristic excursions.

Agrico-Industrial Alternancy

Let us add that our city would take over a certain agricultural district in order to supply the greater part of its own food. To this end, specialized teams would take over the work of the land, going to the spot in trucks where distances were long. But at plowing, sowing and reaping time, certain workshops having built up advanced stocks could be closed and their workers sent as reinforcements. Such experiments have already been attempted by Henry Ford, and in Italy by Maettono Marzetto. Over and above the pleasure of receiving fresh foodstuffs, this agrico-industrial alternative introduces diversity in urban life, and above all, would do away with the difference of class which exists at the present day between town and country laborer, which still causes prejudice to the good harmony of society.

Experiments in Communal Living

It would be necessary to speak at length of all the advantages of this neo-urbanism, and of its influence on social behavior. Similar experiments already realized should be mentioned, especially in Israel where for the last half century entire satisfaction has been found. We speak of these collective villages which group generally a few hundred, or sometimes more than a thousand, inhabitants, and where everything is put in common: buildings, machinery, subsistence, and all personal effort. The fruit of these efforts are shared fraternally in the form of well-being, and growing comfort and culture. This to a point that in the interior of the "Kibboutz" no salary is distributed, and that currency even is totally unknown, except when it is necessary to travel for pleasure or go away on a mission. It is difficult to imagine, without having been there, that the simple fact of having done away with this cause of discord and strife which is money, can introduce into the community such mutual goodwill and friendly solidarity.

That is why this lesson should be remembered, and in our model city, work should be remunerated in the same way. And the population, having no worries for tomorrow, a high standard of well-being and comfort, plenty of leisure and all facilities

to transform it instantly into sporting, intellectual or artistic pleasure, would cease to covet, to cry out and to rebel, as is the case nowadays.

Join Up of the Principles of East and West

But there is also another lesson to be drawn from the observation of the kibboutz, and it is of first importance. It concerns the fact that the outcome of the commonwealth of goods and the equal sharing of all products is marxism in a pure state, for all capital, profit and exploitation of man by man have entirely disappeared. Yet we must underline with the same insistence that as these villages are populated with volunteers who can leave whenever they like, the principle of free enterprise is also respected. We can even add enlarged, as this principle concerns the totality of the population, whereas in the capitalist system, only the management is concerned, the wage earners obeying with a very limited possibility of choice.

Thus the kibboutz, in spite of its modest form—due to the poverty of the country—brings us the living demonstration of this rather miraculous possibility, which is at hand, to join experimentally the two political principles of the East and the West whose challenge has caused the present cold war, so ruinous to all progress, and terribly dangerous by the risks of explosion it holds.

Nothing is therefore more urgent than to undertake on a more vast and spectacular scale this sensational demonstration that is perfectly possible to reconcile all parties, whose antagonism is the result of an abominable misunderstanding. The proof is that all peoples desire one and the same thing: to do away with fear, constraint and ignorance, and enjoy at last the happiness they have desired from the beginning of all things, although they knew it not.

World Government

To gain these ends, there is no better solution than the election of a World Government without which it would be impossible to organize the world scientifically in view of an equal distribution of wealth, leisure and cultural joys. Having done away with the conflicts and injustice, humanity would then become progressively civilized through mutual improvement. And, as Aristotle said: "The more perfect you become, the happier you become."

Bernard MALAN,
4, rue Saint-Roch, PARIS (1er).

THE REAL BIBLE

By this time the whole world should know that the real bible has not yet been written, but is being written, and that it will never be finished until the race begins its downward march, or ceases to exist.

The real bible is not the work of inspired men, nor prophets, nor apostles, nor evangelists, nor of Christs. Every man who finds a fact adds, as it were, a word to this great book. It is not attested by prophecy, by miracles or signs. It makes no appeal to faith, to ignorance, to credulity or fear. It has no punishment for unbelief, and no reward for hypocrisy. It appeals to man in the name of demonstration. It has nothing to conceal. It has no fear of being read, or being contradicted, of being investigated and understood. It does not pretend to be holy, or sacred; it simply claims to be true. It challenges the scrutiny of all, and implores every reader to verify every line for himself. It is incapable of being blasphemed. This book appeals to all the surroundings of man. Each thing that exists testifies of its perfection. The earth, with its heart of fire and crowns of snow; with its forests and plains, its rocks and seas; with its every wave and cloud; with its every leaf and bud and flower, confirms its every word, and the solemn stars, shining in the infinite abysses, are the eternal witnesses of its truth.—Robert Ingersoll.

* * *

I proposed the demolition of the Church establishment, and the freedom of religion. It could only be done by degrees, to-wit, the act of 1776, c 2, exempted dissenters from contributions to the Church, and left the Church clergy to be supported by voluntary contributions of their own sect was continued from year to year, and made perpetual 1779, c 36.—Thomas Jefferson.

* * *

The great principles of right and wrong are legible to every reader; to pursue them requires not the aid of many counselors. The whole art of government consists in the art of being honest. Only aim to do your duty, and mankind will give you credit where you fail.—Thomas Jefferson.

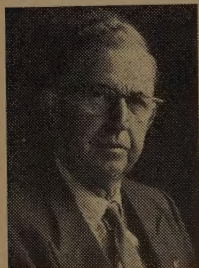
* * *

The better part of one's life consists of his friendships.
—Abraham Lincoln

EDITORIAL

Liberal religion is growing as it has never grown before. New churches are opening and old ones are getting bigger—literally bursting their seams.

At the same time a wave of apathy sweeps our schools and colleges. What Justice Douglas has called "The Black Silence of Fear" has overcome many would-be and should-be liberals. At a time when liberal religion is stronger than ever, people are hesitating to affirm their highest ideals. "Humanism" is a word that has come to mean many things to many people. For nearly fifty years we have used it to mean life-centered religion, the liberal religious faith in human striving. Our aims and purposes are listed on the inside front cover and our program on the back cover of the magazine you received. Read them—we think that they represent the foundation of a basic religion for liberals.



E. O. CORSON

To meet the tremendous challenge that we face today, liberals must find out their own strength. They must discover that the American liberal tradition—the tradition of Jefferson, Paine, Channing, Parker, Lincoln, Ingersol and Whitman—is very much alive today. They must have the facts upon which to build an even greater movement devoted to liberal ideals.

Many of you have received an introductory copy of HUMANIST WORLD DIGEST. It was sent to you with compliments as a sample of what we believe a liberal religious magazine should be. We hope that you have found its articles stimulating. In the issues that will follow we will continue the series on the issues relative to the ever-growing liberal religious movement. We are planning articles on conservation of the world's human and natural resources, and their relation to the dire problem of world population—and what liberals are doing and can do to meet these challenges. Future issues will continue to deal with other problems facing liberal religion today.

You will find HUMANIST WORLD DIGEST provocative and important in building your own religious faith. You will want to read the coming issues.

THE MEMBERSHIP ROLL CALL

Like most liberal publications, HWD depends on its readers for its support. There are no profits—and no “angels” other than its readers. Your subscription, with an extra contribution, helps this important work along.

For \$1.00 you can subscribe to the Humanist World Digest for a year, or send it to a friend. It will be a Missionary toward man's objective approach for his survival here. We would like to have you answer the Roll Call. Also, we will thank you for the names of those you think might like to know about this magazine.

“The leading rule for the lawyer, as for the man of every other calling, is diligence. Leave nothing for tomorrow which can be done today.”—Abraham Lincoln.

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INTERPRETING HUMANIST OBJECTIVES

HUMANIST WORLD FELLOWSHIP is a religious association incorporated under the laws of the State of California with all the rights and privileges of such organizations. It enrolls members, charters local societies, affiliates like-minded groups, establishes educational projects and ordains ministers.

HUMANIST WORLD FELLOWSHIP defines religion in terms of two inseparable historical processes: (1) the ages-long quest for ultimate human values; and (2) the continuous effort to realize these values in individual experience and in just and harmonious social relations. Humanism affirms the inviolable dignity of the individual and declares democracy the only acceptable method of social progress.

MODERN HUMANISM seeks to unite the whole of mankind in ultimate religious fellowship. It strives for the integration of the whole personality and the perfection of social relationships as the objectives of religious effort. Humanism, in broad terms, tries to achieve a good life in a good world. HUMANIST WORLD FELLOWSHIP is a shared quest for that good life.

Above all, man is not to be regarded as an instrument that serves and glorifies totalitarianism — economic, political or ecclesiastical.

HUMANISM insists that man is the highest product of the creative process within our knowledge, and as such commands our highest allegiance. He is the center of our concern. He is not to be treated as a means to some other end, but as an end in himself. Heretofore man has been considered a means to further the purposes of gods, states, economic systems, social organizations; but Humanism would reverse this and make all these things subservient to the fullest development of the potentialities of human nature as the supreme end of all endeavor. This is the cornerstone of Humanism, which judges all institutions according to their contribution to human life.

HUMANISM recognizes that all mankind are brothers with a common origin. We are all of one blood with common interests and a common life and should march with mutual purposes toward a common goal. This means that we must eradi-

cate racial antagonisms, national jealousies, class struggles, religious prejudices and individual hatreds. Human solidarity requires that each person consider himself a cooperating part of the whole human race striving toward a commonwealth of man built upon the principles of justice, good will and service.

HUMANISM seeks to understand human experience by means of human inquiry. Despite the claims of revealed religions, all of the real knowledge acquired by the race stems from human inquiry. Humanists investigate facts and experience, verify these, and formulate thought accordingly. However, nothing that is human is foreign to the Humanist. Institutions, speculations, supposed supernatural revelations are all products of some human mind so must be understood and evaluated. The whole body of our culture — art, poetry, literature, music, philosophy and science must be studied and appreciated in order to be understood and appraised.

HUMANISM has no blind faith in the perfectibility of man but assumes that his present condition, as an individual and as a member of society, can be vastly improved. It recognizes the limitations of human nature but insists upon developing man's natural talents to their highest point. It asserts that man's environment, within certain limits, can be arranged so as to enhance his development. Environment should be brought to bear on our society so as to help to produce healthy, sane, creative, happy individuals in a social structure that offers the most opportunity for living a free and full life.

HUMANISM accepts the responsibility for the conditions of human life and relies entirely upon human efforts for their improvement. Man has made his own history and he will create his own future—for good or ill. The Humanist determines to make this world a fit place to live in and human life worth living. This is a hard but challenging task. It could result gloriously.

These brief paragraphs indicate the objectives and methods of HUMANIST WORLD FELLOWSHIP as a religious association. Upon the basis of such a program it invites all like-minded people into membership and communion. Let us go forward together.

Starr King School for The Ministry
2441 Le Conte Ave.
Berkeley, Calif. (k)